4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions.

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

175
792
554
662

The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

[422]

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

---

other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[P, 17(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason.

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p. 24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Achia.'" [74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia." [75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu [76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail.

792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.
[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p. 67(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

[P.40(A)]

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansú. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles, Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.